

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02191 221824Z

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SUBJECT: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE

REF A. USNATO 2057

B. STATE 089949

SUMMARY: CONCERNING PARA 9 OF REF B, MISSION BELIEVES EXISTING DRAFT LANGUAGE IN 1975 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE DOCUMENT (REF A) BOTH SUPPORTS US VIEW THAT A STALWART CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY IS ATTAINABLE AND EMPHASIZES ROLE OF CONVENTIONAL LEG IN TRIAD TO ABOUT MAXIMUM EXTENT ALLIES (ESPECIALLY FRG) CAN ACCEPT. MISSION THEREFORE RECOMMENDS AGAINST A US ATTEMPT TO ALTER DRAFT LANGUAGE SUBSTANTIALLY DURING FORTHCOMING REVIEW BY DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE IN PERMANENT SESSION. ENC SUMMARY.

1. MISSION BELIEVES EXISTING DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE SUPPORTS US VIEWS THAT A ATALWART CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY IS NOT BEYOND REACH AND THAT CONVENTIONAL FORCES CAN PLAY A ROLE BEYOND THAT OF HANDLING A LIMITED CONVENTIONAL ATTACK. FOLLOWING EXPERPTS FROM DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE PERTAIN:  
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PAGE 02 NATO 02191 221824Z

A. PARA 6: "NATO ALREADY HAS ACHIEVED A LARGE MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD; ALLIES HAVE FIELDED THE BASIC INGREDIENTS FOR A STALWART CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE."

B. PARA 19(A): -NATO NEEDS CONVENTIONAL LAND, SEA AND AIR FORCES CAPABLE OF WITHSTANDING THE INITIAL SHOCK OF ATTACK AND THEREAFTER OF CONDUCTING A COHERENT AND EFFECTIVE DEFENSE IN THE FORWARD AREAS FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE."

C. PARA 20(A): "...THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES SHOULD BE STRONG ENOUGH TO RESIST AND REPEL A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON A LIMITED SCALE, AND TO DETER LARGER SCALE CONVENTIONAL ATTACKS THROUGH THE PROSPECT OF AN EXPANSION OF THE AREA, SCALE AND INTENSITY OF HOSTILITIES WHICH COULD INVOLVE THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NEVERTHELESS, SHOULD LARGE-SCALE CONVENTIONAL AGGRESSION OCCUR, THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF SUSTAINING A DEFENSE IN THE FORWARD AREAS SUFFICIENT TO INFLICT SERIOUS LOSSES ON THE AGGRESSOR AND CONVINCE HIM OF THE RISKS OF SUCH ESCALATION."

D. PARA 29: "NATO LAND, AIR AND MARITIME CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE SO AS NOT TO FORCE PREMATURE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN THAT DEFENSE EVEN AFTER A DECISION TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS BEEN TAKEN."

E. PARA 57: "IN DETERMINING THE ALLOCATION OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO...FORCES (INCLUDING REINFORCEMENT FORCES) WHICH CAN BE DEPLOYED EFFECTIVELY EITHER WITHIN THE WARNING TIME AVAILABLE OR EARLY ENOUGH TO HELP MAINTAIN A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE, AND MEASURES WHICH ENABLE THE TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE DEPLOYMENT OF THESE FORCES."

F. PARA 61: "THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL DEVELOP FORCE PROPOSALS...WHICH PROVIDE FOR SOME MODERNIZATION OF STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR FORCES BUT PLACE SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL IMPROVEMENTS."

2. WHILE MISSION DOES NOT KNOW PRECISE NATURE OF "IMPROVED LANGUAGE"(REF B, PARA 9) WASHINGTON WANTS IN DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, MISSION RECOMMENDS AGAINST US ATTEMPTS TO ALTER DRAFT GUIDANCE LANGUAGE ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES SUBSTANTIALLY DURING FORTHCOMING CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 02191 221824Z

COMING DPC PERMREP REVIEW. IN MISSION VIEW, SUCH ACTION WOULD PUT AT RISK CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ALREADY MADE DURING FORMULATION OF EXISTING DRAFT BY:

A) STIMULATING DOUBTS AMONG VIRTUALLY ALL EUROPEAN ALLIES (PARTICULARLY FRG) ABOUT US NUCLEAR COMMITMENT,

B) ENCOURAGING MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO DEVELOP FORCE PROPOSALS FOR DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENTS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES, WHICH NATIONS WILL NOT SUPPORT, AND

C) CASTING DOUBT ON US SUPPORT FOR EXISTING MC-14-3 STRATEGY.

3. IF, DESPITE ABOVE POINTS, WASHINGTON BELIEVES FINAL 1975 MIN-

ISTERIAL GUIDANCE AS SUBMITTED TO MINISTERS FAILS TO REFLECT  
SUFFICIENT ROLE FOR CONVENTIONAL FORCES, CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE  
GIVEN TO RAISING SUBJECT IN GENERAL TERMS DURING RESTRICTED SESSION  
OF FORTHCOMING DPC MINISTERIAL.  
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